

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-08

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 EURE-00 NSC-05 NSCE-00 SSO-00
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FM USMISSION USBERLIN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4696
AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY BERLIN UNN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USMISSION NATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 USBERLIN 1518

LIMDIS

E O 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR PGOV WB GE UR GE US UK UR
SUBJ: GDR TREATS AGAINST PLANNED CDU MEETING IN BERLIN

REF: BONN 9481

1. SUMMARY: MISSION AGREES ENTIRELY WITH RECOMMENDATIONS
OF US REP TO BONN GROUP. WE BELIEVE THAT IF GDR STOPS
CDU JUNGHEIMER TRAVELLERS ON ACCESS ROADS TO BERLIN
ON JUNE 16-17, THIRD TIME IN LAST FOUR SUMMERS OF SUCH
VIOLATIONS OF QA, WE SHOULD BE PREPARED TO PROTEST QUICKLY TO
SOVIETS AT HIGH LEVEL. WE RECOMMEND IN SUCH AN EVENT THAT COUNTER-
MEASURES BE TAKEN AGAINST GDR AS HAPPENED IN SUMMER 1974.
WE DO NOT BELIEVE SOVIETS SHOULD BE OBJECT OF COUNTER-
MEASURES FOR ACTIONS CARRIED OUT BY GDR. NOR DO WE
BELIEVE AS FRENCH BONN GROUP REP ARGUED THAT OUR REACTIONS
SHOULD BE DEPENDENT UPON THAT OF FRG. END SUMMARY.
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2. MISSION MUCH APPRECIATES FAST ACTION OF US REP
IN BONN GROUP ON JUNE 3. FOLLOWING ARE OUR VIEWS
ON BONN GROUP DISCUSSION REPORTED REFTEL AND OUR
RECOMMENDATIONS AS TO MEASURES TO BE TAKEN IF TURN-
BACKS OCCUR ON THE AUTOBAHN.

3. IF GDR DOES TAKE ACTION AGAINST CDU JUNGE UNION MEMBERS ON JUNE 16-17, IT WILL BE THIRD TIME IN LAST FOUR SUMMERS THAT GDR WILL HAVE VIOLATED QUADRIPARTITE AGREEMENT AND TRANSIT AGREEMENT BY BLOCKING TRAVELLERS NOT BECAUSE THERE IS EVIDENCE THEY WILL VIOLATE GDR LAWS WHILE IN TRANSIT, BUT BECAUSE GDR DOES NOT LIKE WHAT THEY INTEND TO DO IN WEST BERLIN. SINCE IT IS UP TO THE SOVEREIGN ALLIES TO DETERMINE WHAT IS AND WHAT IS NOT PERMISSIBLE IN WEST BERLIN, THIS AMOUNTS TO A GDR EFFORT TO ARROGATE TO ITSELF A ROLE IN THE GOVERNANCE OF THE WESTERN SECTORS. THIS OF COURSE IS ALWAYS UNACCEPTABLE IN ANY GIVEN INSTANCE; IT IS EVEN MORE DANGEROUS FROM THE STAND-POINT OF PRECEDENT. DAMAGE TO THE PSYCHOLOGICAL BALANCE OF THE BERLINERS WOULD INDEED BE GREAT IF DOUBT CREPT IN EACH TIME WEST GERMANS, UNDER THE TRANSIT AGREEMENT, WISHED TO GO TO BERLIN FOR A POLITICAL MEETING BUT NEVER KNEW QUITE WHETHER THEY WOULD MAKE IT OR NOT.

4. IT WILL BE RECALLED THAT THE FIRST SERIOUS POST-QA INTERFERENCE WITH ACCESS CAME IN JULY 1974, OCCASIONED BY SOVIET-GDR DISPLEASURE OVER ESTABLISHMENT IN BERLIN OF THE FEDERAL ENVIRONMENTAL AGENCY (FEA). WE WERE THEN IN FINAL STAGES OF NEGOTIATING ARRANGEMENTS WITH A GDR GROUP IN WASHINGTON FOR ESTABLISHMENT OF US-GDR RELATIONS AND OPENING OF EMBASSIES. BEFORE THE INTERFERENCE BEGAN, THE GDR SIDE WAS WARNED THAT TALKS WOULD BE BROKEN OFF
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IF IT TOOK PLACE. THEIR RESPONSE WAS TO SAY THAT SUCH STEPS BY GDR SHOULD HAVE NO REPEAT NO EFFECT ON US-GDR BILATERAL RELATIONS. WHEN INTERFERENCE TOOK PLACE, GROUP WAS INFORMED TALKS WOULD BE SUSPENDED UNTIL POLITICAL CLIMATE WARRANTED THEIR RESUMPTION. IN LATTER PART OF AUGUST, AFTER ABOUT SIX WEEKS OF TROUBLE-FREE ACCESS, GDR WAS INVITED SEND GROUP BACK, AND PREVIOUSLY-AGREED DOCUMENTS WERE SIGNED IN EARLY SEPTEMBER.

5. IN THE AUGUST 13, 1976 INCIDENT, 13 DAYS ELAPSED BETWEEN THE INCIDENT AND THE REPLY THAT THE POLAD GAVE TO THE SOVIETS AT 10:00 P.M. IN THE EVENING OF AUGUST 26. AS WE ARGUED THEN, AND WOULD ARGUE EVEN MORE FORCEFULLY TODAY, TO PROTEST THE FEA INCIDENT IN 1974 AND AGAIN THE AUGUST 13, 1976, "STERNFAHRT" INCIDENT TO THE SOVIETS BUT NOT TO DO SO IN JUNE 1977 WOULD BE TO GIVE AN INCORRECT SIGNAL TO THE GDR AND THE SOVIETS.

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6. WE THEREFORE RECOMMEND THAT THE BONN GROUP BE
AUTHORIZED TO PREPARE QUICKLY A STATEMENT TO BE MADE
TO THE SOVIETS AS SOON AS POSSIBLE AFTER AN INCIDENT
OCCURS, THUS AVOIDING LAST YEAR'S DELAY OF 13 DAYS.
WE ALSO RECOMMEND THAT AS IN THE 1974 CASE, COUNTER-
MEASURES BE TAKEN AGAINST THE GDR. FOR EXAMPLE,
WE WOULD BE DISMAYED IF THE APPOINTMENT OF A NEW
AMBASSADOR TO THE GDR WERE TO BE ANNOUNCED JUST
AFTER SUCH AN INCIDENT. TEDIOUS AS IT MAY SEEM,
WE BELIEVE THAT THE ONLY WAY OF MAKING THE GDR
RESORT ONLY RARELY TO ABUSING ITS CONTROL
OVER THE AUTOBAHN OR TO GIVE UP THE PRACTICE
ALTOGETHER IS TO MAKE THEM PAY EACH TIME. WE
WOULD APPRECIATED DEPARTMENT AND EMBASSY BERLIN
COMENTS ABOUT MEASURES WE COULD EXPECT TO TAKE
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WITH RESPECT TO THE GDR IN LATE JUNE.

7. ON THE OTHER HAND, WE DO NOT BELIEVE THA THE SOVIETS SHOULD BE THE DIRECT OBJECT OF COUNTER-MEASURES FOR SUCH GDR ACTIONS ON THE AUTOBAHN. OUR END PURPOSE IS OF COURSE TO GET THE SOVIETS TO DETER THE GDR FROM SUCH ACTIONS. IF WE TAKE ACTION AGAINST THE SOVIETS, WE RISK ESCALATION AND THE UNNECESSARY ENGAGEMENT OF SOVIET PRIDE, WE THEREBY LESSEN OUR CHANCES OF PERSUADING THE SOVIETS THAT SUCH GDR-INSPIRED INCIDENTS ARE NOT WORTH THE RESULTS. A PROTEST, EVEN AT A HIGH LEVEL, IS ANOTHER MATTER BECAUSE WE HAVE THE WELL UNDERSTOOD RIGHT TO EXPRESS OUR VIEW TO THE SOVIETS THAT THE QUADRIPARTITE AGREEMENT HAS BEEN VIOLATED BY THE ACTIONS OF A NON-SIGNATORY POWER.

8. WE ARE ALL TOO AWARE OF THE REASONS FOR FRG UNWILLINGNESS TO TAKE STRONG AND FAST ACTIONS WHEN FACED WITH GDR VIOLATIONS OF THE TRANSIT AGREEMENT. SINCE THE FRG IS CONCERNED WITH MAINTAINING CONTACTS BETWEEN THE CITIZENS OF BOTH GERMAN STATES, ANY MOVE IT MAKES IS ALL TOO EASY FOR THE GDR TO COUNTER. WE THEREFORE DO NOT BELIEVE THAT THE POSITION OF THE FRENCH BONN GROUP REP AS REPORTED IN REFTEL IS TENABLE. WHEN THE BASIC ISSUE IS DEFENDING THE QA, ALLIED RESPONSIBILITIES IN BERLIN CANNOT BE MADE DEPENDENT ON WHAT THE FRG IS PREPARED TO DO. AT SUCH TIMES, WE MUST CARRY THE BURDEN EVEN IF THE FRG PROVES RELUCTANT TO FOLLOW SUIT.

9. WITH RESPECT TO LEVELS OF A POSSIBLE PROTEST TO THE SOVIETS WE RECALL THE SUMMER OF 1976 DISPUTE AND RECOMMEND THAT A HIGHER LEVEL THAN THE POLAD CHANNEL BE USED. THEN WE STRESSED THAT THE USE OF THE POLAD CHANNEL IN NO WAY DIMINISHED THE IMPORTANCE
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OF THE ALLIED PROTEST; BUT WE CANNOT HAVE CONVINCED THE GDR OR SOVIETS, THE LATTER PREFERRING CAPITALS FOR IMPORTANT DEMARCHES. CAPITALS OR MOSCOW WOULD BE BETTER. IT WOULD ALSO BE DESIRABLE TO BE PREPARED IN ADVANCE WITH THE THRUST OF A POSSIBLE PRESS STATEMENT FOR USE BY THE THREE EMBASSIES IN BONN. GEORGE

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